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WAR & PEACE

# Will Suez go to the UN? Egypt opens door to new international conference

By Kumar Goshal

AFTER A WEEK'S negotiations with Egyptian President Nasser the five-nation committee (Australia, U.S., Sweden, Iran, Ethiopia) headed by Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies left Cairo Sept. 9 without reaching an agreement. The committee was delegated by 18 of the 22 nations at the recent London conference to present to Nasser their proposal for international control of the Suez Canal.

Negotiations failed because the Menzies committee was empowered only to present and explain the 18-nation proposal without modification, and Nasser refused to modify his stand against international control of the canal—a plan which he characterized as "collective colonialism."

As Menzies returned to London to report to the proposal's sponsors, British Prime Minister Eden called an emergency session of Parliament Sept. 12. Both in Britain and the U.S. there was a growing demand for referring the issue to the UN. On Sept. 10 Nasser sent to all governments concerned and to UN Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold a message proposing an international conference representing the different points of view on the canal's future. The conference, Nasser said, would discuss ways and means to guarantee passage of ships of all nations through the canal, supervise its maintenance and development, and assure equitable tolls. Israel was excluded.

**UNDER DURESS:** The Menzies committee's negotiations with President Nasser took place in an atmosphere of military threats and psychological warfare against Egypt unleashed by Britain, France and the Suez Canal Co.'s offices in Paris.

Cairo announced on Sept. 1 the arrest of three Britons and four Egyptians on charges of spying for Britain and attempting to foment an uprising to overthrow Nasser. The Paris daily **Libaration** (8/30) foresaw the possibility of a repetition in Egypt of the Iranian pattern of Zahedi replacing Mossadegh as Premier to the benefit of U.S. oil concerns.

**Libaration** said: "Everybody knows that the U.S.-British secret services are now looking for the old Wafdist leaders and friends of ex-President Naguib, who would get as their price of cooperation a greater share of the canal revenues plus a loan (U.S. or Anglo-U.S.) to build the Aswan dam."

There was a frenzied mobilization of Anglo-French forces in the British Crown Colony of Cyprus, as though an invasion of Egypt to retake Suez was imminent. This made Nasser feel that he was negotiating under duress, and resulted in equally violent reaction throughout the Arab world.

The Arab League pledged Egypt solid support in case of war. Syria and Lebanon, once under French domination, reacted strongly to the arrival of French troops in Cyprus. A Damascus radio commentator said the West was "threatening the peace and security of the Middle East."

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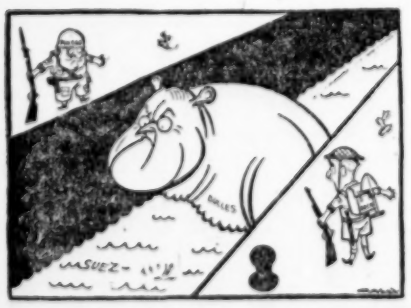


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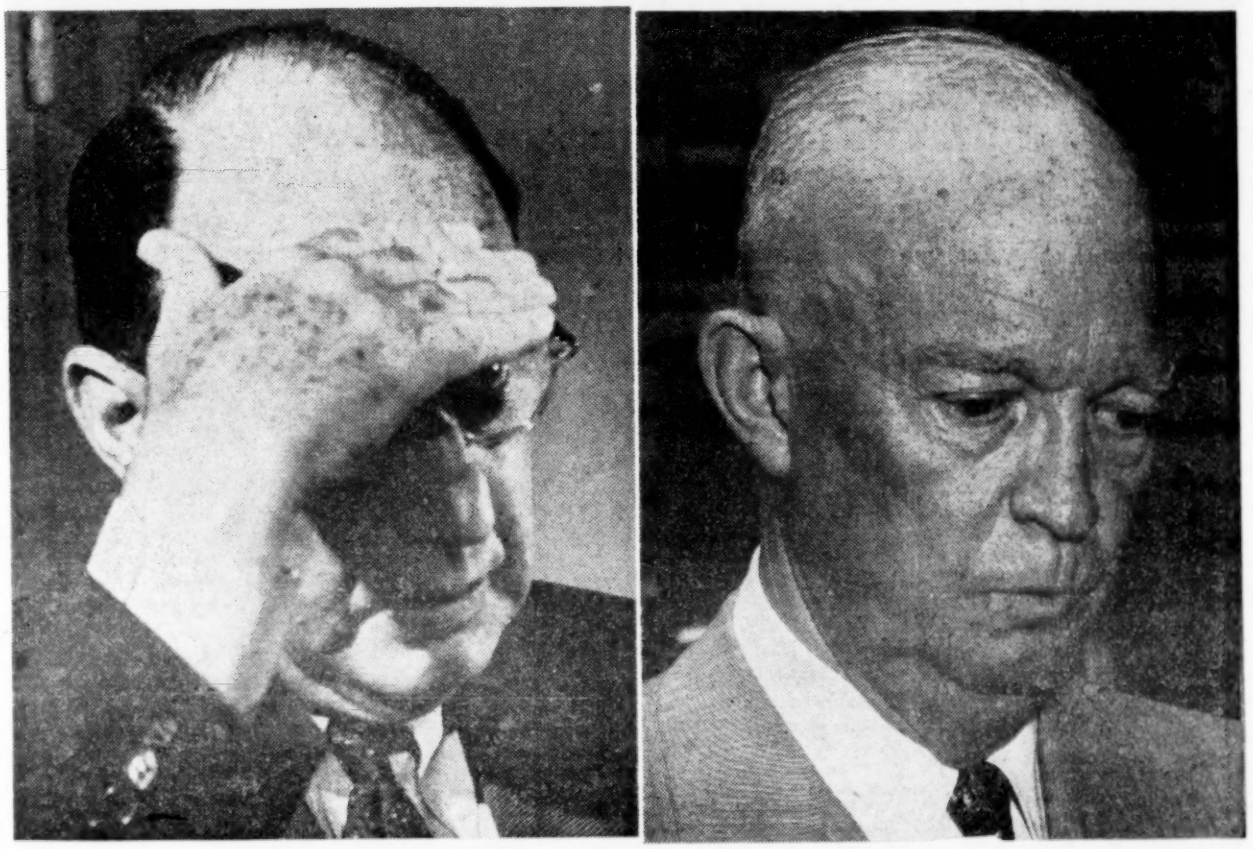
**HIPPO IN THE CANAL**



**Violence in the South? Oh, well, that's—er—really a local problem, isn't it?**
*On the question of equal rights for Negro children, as ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court, the Presidential candidates of the two major parties last week expressed themselves firmly in platitudes.*

IF IT WERE LEFT TO THE KIDS THEMSELVES . . .

# Troops in South bar new school violence

By Eugene Gordon

TWELVE Negro children enrolled with 700 white students in the Clinton, Tenn., High School without incident on Monday, Aug. 27. Federal Judge Robert Taylor at Knoxville had ordered integration to proceed, thus ending a five-year litigation case. He also had issued a temporary restraining order against interference. A Negro boy at the close of the school day told reporters "everything went fine."

So began the third year since the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed jimcrow in public schools, and the second since it ordered local Federal courts to proceed to enforce desegregation "with all deliberate speed."

Then, on Tuesday, John Kasper from Washington, who had without much success been trying to create trouble since the weekend, began to harangue a crowd in front of the county courthouse. This time he was more successful and in short order Clinton was gripped with tension. On Thursday Kasper was arrested for violating the injunction and sentenced to one year in prison. (He is now free in $10,000 bail.) The situation quickly became worse and the state police and National Guard were called in.

Ugly violence was thus forestalled in Tennessee; but even as the Guard came in, diehard elements resisted in other areas of the South. This was the situation as the GUARDIAN went to press:

**TENNESSEE:** Clinton was quiet one week after the first violence. The Negro students were escorted to school under guard. The 350 Negroes among the town's 4,000 population were said to be "ready" in case the "state of emergency" was declared ended and law enforcement turned back to the eight policemen and their 40-member "home guard."

The City Council, meanwhile, approved ordinances establishing a limited curfew, banning outdoor assemblies and setting up a public address system when the National Guard left. School attendance was gradually increasing toward normal after having fallen off because of menacing phone calls and other pressure tactics.

Among the 1,000 persons in the mining town of Oliver Springs, 18 miles west of Clinton, word went around that officials of the United Mine Workers, to which most of the men belonged, wouldn't tolerate anti-Negro disorders there. A riot had been brewing over rumors that Negro miners' children would be integrated with white children. The rumor was declared unfounded.

**KENTUCKY:** An estimated 500 adults in Sturgis shouted insults at 100 white high school children who went to school for the first time with nine Negro students they had known all their lives—some as neighbors and playmates. National Guardsmen dispatched by Gov. Chandler threatened the mob with rifle-butts to make a path for the Negro students. Newsmen were driven away by threats of violence.

Neither the white nor the Negro children answered taunts of "Nigger-lover!" and "Nigger!" Some white children vowed not to return as long as the mob prevailed, while Negro parents said their youngsters would continue as long as they were protected. But some kept their children home when the fathers were warned of loss of jobs in the mines.

Deputy Safety Commissioner Don Sturgill told reporters: "If we can stop this here, we feel we can stop it anywhere else in the state." Several white men were arrested and fined $10 each on charges of breach of the peace.

The N.Y. **Times** reported from Louisville that the passing of jimcrow public schools there "created no more than a ripple of protest." It said (9/11): "White and Negro children walked through the school corridors together. They solemnly recited the Pledge of Allegiance in unison. Pupils sat side by side in the classroom. And they rushed gaily down the school steps together when the first day had ended. Color differences seemed forgotten."

But 100 segregationists in the little village of Clay drove a Negro mother with two children away from the grammar school to which she had gone to register them.

**TEXAS-ARKANSAS:** In Mansfield, Tex., white parents, after more than a week

(Continued on Page 6)

## 12 PAGES NEXT WEEK

**Beginning next week the NATIONAL GUARDIAN will resume its 12-page editions. Watch each week for special election campaign analysis and reports from our correspondents overseas with news you can get in no other publication. And pass your paper on to a friend. Every new subscriber means a longer life for our paper.**

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# THE MAIL BAG

### This moving world

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The GUARDIAN will not gain in stature if it continues its present negative attitude towards the Presidential campaign.

In mid-1955 Eisenhower attended the Geneva Conference. Today he could not attend so rigorous a conference, even if he so wished. Surely the position of Nixon cannot be disregarded, nor the fact that he is being boomed for 1960.

While Stevenson has shown little to date, there are indications that he has developed somewhat in the past four years, and the campaign is not yet over. Or does the GUARDIAN feel that a boss-dominated Harriman would have had just as great a potential?

Surely most progressives breathed a sigh of relief when Kefauver won over the reactionary Kennedy.

The GUARDIAN's attitude seems to be that "no matter what happens during the campaign, it don't make no difference." But the world does move. **F.L.H.**

### Negro Rights Party?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Negro people are now politically unique. They have been blatantly and baldly sold down the river by both political conventions.

Despite this, the chances for fuller emancipation were never greater. Not only have Negroes themselves decided that this is the time to move ahead, but the eyes of the world are upon this issue.

I would therefore urge the editors of the GUARDIAN to issue a call to set up a Negro Rights Party in the immediate future. **R. D.**

### Less moo—more boo

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

Just because the Republican convention was held in the Cow Palace is no reason for the Republican delegates voting like cattle. Yours for less bull and more beef. **Nahum D. Bloom**

### Sharp, Wexley & Reuben

CHICAGO, ILL.

Typically, John T. McManus's article, Aug. 27, on Malcolm Sharp's book, **Was Justice Done?**, is more concerned with reaffirming the contentions of William A. Reuben and John Wexley then with intelligently digesting Sharp.

Is it not abundantly clear that the only people who could swallow Wexley's fable are those who were able to swallow Stalin's goodness and Russian paradise? Who but a "believer" could buy the thesis that desire for recognition led Gold to invent a spy story that put him up for 30 years; that Fuchs confessed to Communist espionage because in reality he was a Nazi agent; that every personality in the case lied to their own detriment for psychological or other far-fetched reasons?

You have apparently taken upon your shoulders, as your **prime** goal, the task of proving that there was never a Soviet spy system in this country. It is an appalling obsession with you that the Soviet Union and the Communists can do no evil unless, of course, it is some evil that they have admitted. If your avid followers had read the trial record, I am sure you would have a difficult time convincing them that no spying was being done on anybody's part.

Your criticism of I. F. Stone falls flat. Stone made a telling point in allusion to your disgraceful justification of the Slansky trial. Your collusion in the Czech murders made your entire Rosenberg campaign woefully hollow. I hope that those of your readers who are capable of independent reflection will read Stone's article first-hand and not content themselves with your account. **Larry Hochman**

*GUARDIAN readers who have read the Rosenberg trial record will speak for themselves. As to the Slansky trial, we have never printed a "justification" of it, only reports based on the best information available to us. We will continue to print the news as we can get it from the best available sources, to cry out against injustice wherever we find it, to oppose those who would discourage and demobilize humanity in action.—Ed.*

### Stone on the Rosenbergs

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

As a constant reader of I. F. Stone, I have found him to be wrong often, but always sincere and always just. His thoughts on the Rosenberg case as well as on Sobell were indeed justified. You people have the very bad habit of ignoring outrage under the Communist regimes and being fiercely indignant over local conditions. You also insist upon wild charges such as the anti-Semitic charge against the government in the case mentioned above. Innuendoes and truths are not necessarily related. This is not to say that the Rosenbergs and Sobell are not innocent. I merely suggest that you attack wrongs on a world-wide basis wherever they occur. This, I believe, is what Mr. Stone was driving at. **Gilbert H. Liberman**

### Mrs. John Runell

SHRUB OAK, N.Y.

This contribution is in memory of my mother, Mrs. John Runell, who died July 31, 1956. She read the GUARDIAN and liked it a lot. **Mary Mobile**

### Socialist Association?

WOODSTOCK, N.Y.

Regarding the Socialist Association proposed by Melvin Bloom in the Aug. 20 issue of the GUARDIAN:

Too much energy is consumed in the formation of organizations and negligible amounts of this energy remain to continue with the work meant to be done. This would be the first point against the organization proposed by Mr. Bloom. It seems to me that the problem to which this new group would be devoted is the very matter that so many civil rights groups are tackling already, not to speak of NAACP, Friends and any number of other groups.

The only step forward in sight that I can see is a planned, well-disciplined, relentless and completely systematic campaign of all of these individual groups aimed at establishing the goal of constitutional rights for everyone. This kind of campaign need not involve a whole new organization, simply a central point at which developments across the nation can be sized up simultaneously. With this complete picture, the energies of available groups could be directed as necessary for best effects and results. A central office, with maximum cooperation from all individual groups, could work efficiently, being spared the ceremonies of an organization-type set-up.

As for presenting the case for socialism to the American people, I daresay this would be entirely superfluous. More and more people are becoming aware of the fact that the structure of American, and ultimately world, society is changing to what is known as socialistic structure. Instead of trying to convince people to accept something which will come whether they accept it or not, it might be wiser to teach them (especially through mass communication media now, and then in schools) to be better members in such a social structure.

**Nadya Spassenko**

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ASHLAND, ALA.

The idea of a Socialist Association for political co-existence to enforce constitutional rights and to present the case for socialism to the people is a very good and timely one.

Nearly everyone who wants to help bring on progress and bottle up the reactionary force-and-violence gang in the U.S. would support such an idea, I think, now. **Hardy L. Scott**

### *How Crazy Can You Get Dept.*

LOS ANGELES (AP)—Employes of the county tax collector and assessor were ordered Friday not to smile or look happy in the presence of taxpayers.

As one supervisor explained to his staff: "After all, the taxpayers are unhappy so we must be unhappy too."

Tax-collecting clerks were also ordered not to appear carefree or gay in the corridors or elevators.

Worcester (Mass.) **Telegram** 11/14/55

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: J. Summer, Worcester. Be sure to send original clipping and date of each entry.

N. Y. Herald Tribune

**"When the utility companies start tinkering with A-power, I'm going back to kerosene."**


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## C. B. BALDWIN'S VIEWS

# The Presidential election

*As progressives throughout the nation were trying to decide their stand in the 1956 Presidential election, the following communication was received at the GUARDIAN from C. B. Baldwin. Baldwin, for many years the secretary of the now dormant Progressive Party, was a high official in the Dept. of Agriculture in the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The editors felt that his views warranted this space this week. The GUARDIAN will state its own position on the election in next week's issue.*

GREENWICH, CONN.

THE 1956 ELECTIONS are only two months from now. Apparently, The GUARDIAN editors have not made up their minds, but I suspect many Progressives, like myself, have.

The vital statistics favor Nixon over Eisenhower by 1960. My vote and support goes to Stevenson and Kefauver. This is no time to sulk and quibble, then end up by staying home on election day. The voting franchise is the most important form of protest we have and we must use it.

I had my doubts before the conventions. I would possibly have stayed home too, if Harriman had been the Democratic nominee for President. Had Kennedy or Lyndon Johnson been nominated for the Vice Presidency, my reservations would still have been strong.

BUT SOMETHING IMPORTANT HAPPENED in Chicgao. In fact, a number of things, which brought me to a decision. The old guard of the Democratic party, the assassins of the New Deal, were badly mangled at the convention. Let's see what happened: Truman was discredited not once, but twice: (1) on Harriman and then (2) on Kefauver. Harriman, one of the top architects of the cold war, was crushed. The Dixiecrats suffered their worst defeat in years through the nomination of Kefauver. The machine Democrats of the North couldn't nominate Kennedy even though they had managed to get an alliance with the normally anti-Catholic South. Lyndon Johnson and Texas oil also got their come-uppance.

Obviously the Democratic Party of Stevenson and Kefauver has not rid itself completely of the yoke of reaction, but a new management has taken over. What Stevenson and Kefauver do, and the position they take on the issues of today will, in a large measure, depend on the pressures exerted by the decent elements of the Democratic Party and progressives, together with their support.

Many progressives, like myself, will maintain their political independence, and will continue to fight the forces of bigotry and war that still threaten our country. But a most important political fact to remember is that the New Deal would never have been as successful as it was without the constant pressure of progressives on Congress and the Government. Stevenson and Kefauver now have the chance to be their "own men.". They need not be the "creatures" of the machine or of the South. But they cannot possibly accomplish this without support from the people and constant pressure from the progressive forces in the country.

IN SAN FRANCISCO the Republicans hailed Eisenhower as the Messiah, but the control of the convention was clearly in the hands of the Republican right wing. They demanded Nixon and the Eisenhower forces yielded without a fight. It is clear to me that a vote for Eisenhower is more specifically a vote for Nixon.

I hope the GUARDIAN will not equivocate. Measure carefully the choice before us. The answer to me is clear. I can't be a party to the indirect support of Nixon, Dulles, Brownell and McCarthy. I will earnestly support Stevenson and Kefauver and at the same time oppose the Trumans, Walters, Eastlands and their kind, whose hold on the Democratic Party was so greatly weakened by defeat at Chicago that, once again, if we will accept the responsibility, we have an opportunity to exercise an influence in the politics of our country.

**C. B. Baldwin**

### Up Hallinan!

ALBANY, CALIF.

The GUARDIAN ought to sponsor more frequent interracial events like the "Picnic of the Year" at the Hallinan's last July. It was indeed a splendiferous affair and a grand good-will force. My first attendance, and it impressed me a lot.

**Virginia M. Walter**

A FREE PRESS AND THE TRAGEDY OF KOREA

# The issues in the Powell sedition case

By Elmer Bendiner

ATTORNEY A. L. WIRIN of the American Civil Liberties Union argued in Federal District Court in San Francisco last week for dismissal of the sedition indictment against John W. Powell, his wife Sylvia and Julian Schuman.

Federal District Judge Louis E. Goodman heard arguments for two days, then handed down his ruling from the bench without further deliberation: motion denied.

Few post-war prosecutions have been so charged with political explosives. When the case goes to trial it must re-open not only the question of a free press and free speech, but the whole Korean tragedy—its origins, casualties, the truth or falsity of charges of bacteriological warfare. It may determine whether or not the U.S. was at war (though Congress never declared it so) and test the right of any American to criticize his government at any time.

For the defendants themselves the stakes are high, though not as high as for the nation. John Powell, the principal defendant, is liable under the 13-count indictment to 260 years in prison and a fine of $130,000.

**THE ELDER POWELL:** In 1916 John Powell's father, the late J. B. Powell, left his post as professor in the University of Missouri's School of Journalism to bring an American brand of critical, independent journalism to the Far East. He founded the **China Review** in Shanghai and edited it for 25 years. His outspoken comments riled advertisers and, more importantly, the Japanese who, after Pearl Harbor, took Powell prisoner. Their mistreatment crippled him and led to his death.

His son John grew up in the spirit of fighting journalism; after 1945 he revived the **Review.** His wife Sylvia and U. S. newspaper and radio correspondent Julian Schuman joined him on the staff. The **Review** continued to stir enemies in the corruption-ridden, disintegrating court of Chiang Kai-shek and among his U.S. partisans. The magazine called the Korean fighting a tragic error and published reports of casualties and brutalities glossed over in the U.S. press.

**JOHN & SYLVIA POWELL**
*Will the lid be blown off?*

In 1950, when it was tough going financially for most foreign publications in China, the **Review** changed from a weekly to a monthly; in 1953 it closed down. The Powells, their two young sons and Schuman returned to the U.S.

**THE CHARGES:** The U.S. government knew of the **Review,** had its back numbers available. Throughout the Korean hostilities it never moved to stop entry of the magazine into the country.

But last April 25 a federal grand jury in San Francisco indicted the Powells and Schuman for articles published years earlier denouncing Chiang's corruption, reporting the use of bacteriological warfare in Korea and citing casualty figures. These stories, it is charged, were false and published in order to cause "insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States."

The indictment was drawn up under the terms of the Espionage Act of 1917 (embodied in the 1947 wartime sedition law) under which some 2,000 critics of World War I—including Eugene V. Debs—were prosecuted in the great wave of antiradical hysteria in the early twenties. The dragnet set in motion then was one of the reasons for the birth of the American Civil Liberties Union, and last week, almost 40 years later, the ACLU was still fighting that Act.

**RESTRICTED TO WAR:** In the early days the Act was stretched to prosecute anyone criticizing the war in the presence of men between the ages of 18 and 45. It was then the deepest penetration into an American's freedom to criticize his government. Before the Act there had been no law limiting the written or spoken word, and voices had been raised freely by prominent literary and political figures against the Mexican War and the Spanish-American War.

However stretched, the Act's language still limited the effects to those who spoke or acted "when the United States is at war." The indictment of the Powells and Schuman for the first time proposes to try American journalists for their published stories when no war existed.

The brief submitted in the motion to dismiss the case cites the Supreme Court decision in 1951 ruling that President Truman could not seize the steel mills to forestall a strike because the nation was not at war. The Constitution expressly reserves to Congress the right to declare war. The Korean hostilities have never been officially referred to as a war but only as a police action undertaken not by the U.S. but by the United Nations. By the terms of its charter the UN cannot make war.

**MUST THEY BE SILENT?** If the staff of the **Review** can be convicted under a wartime statute because American soldiers were in combat, the brief warns, then "what may an editor comment if U.S. troops are sent, for example, to Suez and there get shot at? Dare he say they ought not have been in Suez? Or must he keep silent because it may later be contended that the situation constituted 'war' . . ."

U.S. troops are scattered all over the world in dozens of danger spots. To so stretch the interpretation of war—say the defendants' in their brief—is to clamp a permanent state of war on American liberties and water down the Constitutional safeguard that gives to Congress the exclusive right to declare the nation at war. Even during the armed intervention by U.S. troops in the Russian civil war, the Supreme Court ruled that the Espionage Act of 1917 was not applicable because no war existed.

The Act also specifies that it applies only to reports proven false, and authors or publishers who intend them to cause disaffection. To make the charge stick the government will have to prove that the **Review's** version of the Korean fighting was false, that charges of bacteriological warfare were untrue, that Chiang was not corrupt.

**WHAT U.S. MUST PROVE:** Defense counsel in another motion asked the court to pay expenses involved in taking depositions from prominent witnesses all over the world who have testified to the use of germ weapons in Korea. Defense motions were drawn by counsel Doris Brin Walker and Stanley Faulkner.

Judge Goodman set Sept. 18 to hear arguments on that motion and on another asking that Customs be ordered to return Powell's notes and papers seized when he returned to the U.S.

If the government proves the Review's stories false, it must then prove that they were spread with the intent of stirring disaffection, and that a paper published in Shanghai actually could have discouraged enlistments in the U.S. It must also get around the language of the act which says it applies within the U.S. or within the "admiralty and maritime jurisdiction of the U.S." It would be hard to stretch that jurisdiction to include Shanghai.

The defense also cited the indictment as a violation of the First, Fifth and Sixth Amendments and asked that some of the counts be tossed out under the statute of limitations.

POLITICS

# 'Red' issue losing its zing; Truman debunks the spy myth

THIS YEAR Harry Truman broke the rules of the traditional election year sport of combing the opposition's ranks for those who might be called soft on communism. Customarily one side points out a "softie" who is thereupon sacrificed while the other side is allowed to list the numbers of alleged radicals it has imprisoned or banished.

But before the Republicans could say Alger Hiss this season, Truman beat them to the punch. He said he thought Hiss was not a Communist, that his trial was a "red herring" and that nothing had been proved against him except a failure to tell the truth on the witness stand. Truman pulled his coup in the course of a TV panel program in Milwaukee. He said also he did not think that former New Deal officials Harry Dexter White and Nathan Gregory Silvermaster "were guilty of anything." (Both were named by "Spy Queen" Elizabeth Bentley and years of witch-hunting were predicated on unproved allegations against them.)

**THE JAVITS STORY:** Candidate Stevenson, reportedly embarrassed by this breach of the rules, made no comment even when pressed by a telegram from Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R-S.D.) asking him whether he agreed with Truman.

At the same time another Democrat, Julian G. Sourwine, took the offensive and cried "softie" at U.S. Atty. Gen. Brownell and N.Y. Atty. Gen. Jacob K. Javits, seeking the Republican nomination for the Senate seat vacated by New York Sen. Lehman. Sourwine, former chief counsel for the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, campaigning for the Democratic candidacy for Senator from Nevada, charged that Brownell had endorsed Javits although the Justice Dept. had "evidence against him."

herblock in Washington Post

**"This is a genuine, authentic liberty bell."**

Javits quickly sought to purge himself by voluntary testimony before the Senate subcommittee, with Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.) in the chair. A hearing revealed the story. Dr. Bella Dodd, a former official of the Teachers Union, now frequently a government witness, had testified that Javits once conferred with her at the start of his political career. He was also charged with meeting other alleged radicals on a ferry boat, in a train, at a cocktail bar or in a parlor. He explained one such case by indicating that a lawyer friend had introduced him to an attractive woman who had just fallen heir to a fortune. As a bachelor he was interested; she was not. But in any case, he said, he knew nothing of her purported political views.

**WHAT SHALL WE DO?** Javits was in a delicate spot. The Republican N.Y. state committee was due to nominate its Senatorial candidate on Sept. 10. The Eastland committee hearing left him under a cloud, with some hints at a continuing investigation. His liberal record had not endeared him to the state machine. With Mayor Wagner, a Catholic, certain to be nominated by the Democrats, hard-headed Republicans thought that Javits as a Jew, might be a handicap in some areas though undoubtedly a drawing card in others. (He was the one Republican to win office in a Democratic sweep in the state election in 1954.)

The issue was hot enough to stir some Republicans into publishing a full-page advertisement in the N.Y. **Times** for former State Controller J. Raymond McGovern, claiming that the Americans for Democratic Action were supporting two candidates—presumably Wagner and Javits.

The Republicans were now faced with this problem: to sacrifice Javits to the witch-hunt, or defy it as Truman had done. On Sunday, Sept. 9 the most authoritative GOP newspaper in the state the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** came out for Javits and on the following day the State Committee nominated him.

**ONE BIG BORE:** Other candidates belabored communism in more general terms. Vice President Nixon told an American Legion convention in Los Angeles that "internal subversion" was on the increase. He won applause for his pledge to drive out of schools, state, local and federal employment all those who cited the Fifth Amendment, though he granted it was every American's right to do so.

Stevenson on Labor Day told a Polish War Veterans rally in Detroit that Secy. of State Dulles had betrayed his promise of "liberation" of people under communist rule. He added: "And when the people of Poznan courageously rose against their Communist overlords the silence from Duck Island—where Mr. Dulles was vacationing—was deafening."

Though the Communist issue was likely to continue as a tradition, neither party seemed inclined to make it the campaign keynote. It was producing a nationwide yawn. Some Stevenson managers realized it, and the neatly-printed placard that popped up most frequently at Stevenson gatherings carried the Democrats' likeliest slogan:

"We can still dump Nixon."

Give This Paper To A Friend

THE OLD LIFE—AND THE NEW

# The Women of Soviet Asia

THE WOMEN OF UZBEKISTAN—BEFORE AND AFTER THE REVOLUTION
*Left, the ugly parendja (horse hair veil); right, students at Uzbek State University.*

**By Tabitha Petran**
Guardian staff correspondent
*(Second of three articles)*

TASHKENT, UZBEKISTAN

IN THE CROWDED collective farm markets of Tashkent, a repulsive apparition occasionally looms amidst the brilliant kaleidoscope of national dresses. Wrapped from head to foot in what look like heavy and dirty old blankets, the figure presents a net of black horsehair instead of a face. This is the parendja and chachvan (veil) in which, before the Revolution, all women had to conceal themselves.

If it is a shock to find even a few old women still clinging to this custom, it is a useful reminder—in this Republic where men assert that "women are more numerous and successful than we are"—of the greatest revolution in Soviet Asia—the status of women.

Women here hold responsible posts in science, industry, the arts. They make up half the deputies of town and regional soviets and a third of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Republics. More impressive than the statistics, however, is the experience of meeting those women.

**HOW THEY DO IT:** Most of them are energetic, attractively-dressed and obviously well-adjusted women. Mainly in their 30's, they were too young to have experienced pre-revolutionary slavery. All have several children, and said they could combine a happy family life with an exacting job because of the network of mother-and-child care services and the educational system.

Tashkent alone has 70 nursery schools, 198 kindergartens, 10 parks and cultural centers especially for children. Every farm, factory, electric power station I visited in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, however remote, provided services which assume the burden of caring for a child almost from the day it leaves the maternity hospital. Yet family life seems no less affectionate and close for the fact that both parents work and children are away from home most of the day. Kazakhs and Uzbeks especially are noted for their love of children and large families. In Moscow women tended to make fun of the honors and titles heaped on those with many children. But here they are taken quite seriously.

Before the revolution women were not considered human beings: "Better to have at home a stone than a girl," Uzbeks used to say, "because with a stone you can build a house, with a girl nothing." They were forced to work from early childhood and, at 13 or 14, were sold as slave wives for men who had many. They were not allowed to show their faces to the light ("Under the parendja even the sun is black," people said). They were not permitted to leave the house for three years after marriage, and then only with their husbands, and concealed in a parendja. "That's why," said Mme. Mushanova, deputy chairman of the Tashkent Executive Committee, "the significance of the revolution is so hard for us to express in words."

**A SINGING PEOPLE:** That also is why they speak with such emotion of the opportunities for their own higher education, and of the even greater opportunities for their children. A movie made in Alma Ata, **Girl From the Steppes**, recounts the struggle of a nomad Kazakh girl for a higher education in the early days of the new Soviet regime. But the wholly unpretentious attitude all these women seemed to share—that they owed their education to "the people's power" and now wanted to serve the people—seemed to tell the story even more dramatically.

Today there are more women (55%) than men in the Kazakh State University. In both Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan women predominate and hold top posts in education and medicine, play a prominent role in industry and the trade unions, and most especially in cultural fields. Mme. Mushanova heads the department which spends 80% of Tashkent's budget—for education, health and social services, sports and culture.

Mme. Donskaya heads the cultural office of the Tashkent Executive Committee. It helps to organize amateur societies which play, sing and dance at farms and factories. Altogether there are about 390,000 amateur actors organized in 5,000 collectives, plus thousands of amateur circles of singers, dancers and musicians. Uzbekistan is a land of haunting folk melodies and spirited dancing to the music of folk instruments. At collective farms, pioneer camps, and factories—in fact, wherever I went in Uzbekistan—singing, dancing and recitations were part of the everyday life. Every June in Tashkent amateur groups perform in all the public squares and parks. Every May there is a festival of song—400,000 took part this year. Talented amateurs win scholarships to become professionals.

**THE PALM OF A HAND:** Uzbekistan is particularly proud of its actresses, ballerinas and women opera stars. For they played a heroic role in the fight for the emancipation of women throughout the 1920's. More than one was murdered for daring to appear on the stage. To avoid such a fate, the first Uzbek actress, Maksuma Kariyeva, was forced for a long time to remain incognito, disappearing beneath her parendja after every performance.

A collective farmer told me: "The difference between the old life and the new is so plain—it can be seen as clearly as the palm of one's hand. Before the Revolution, a man couldn't even have a wife before he was 45 or 50 because he didn't have the money to buy one. Now men live on their salaries and women on theirs. On our farm, women buy sofas, radio sets, carpets, with their money; men buy cars and motorcycles. And they have real companionship because each is independent. In the old days, women didn't have the right even to speak. Now they govern the state."

### Idle eggheadism

In Britt, Iowa, last month the convention of the Tourist Union Local No. 62, known as the Hoboes of America, adopted a platform calling for a four-hour day, a four-day week with three months' paid vacation a year, a minimum wage of $1.50 and a pension of $100 a month for everyone over 60.

Lesser planks promised: a 5c glass of beer, soft cushions in box-cars and better handouts. The keynote speech assailed bums as "too lazy to work" but proclaimed the hobo as an "intellectual who has perceived the folly of gainful employment and therefore makes idleness his life profession."

### In Tiba's back yard

TIBA WILLNER reports that her Guardian Gourmet Dinner Sept. 8 in Los Angeles was a smashing success. About 120 persons crowded in, and 75 unfortunately had to be turned away, for which everyone (Tiba especially) was most unhappy. A grand time, as they say, was had by all; the food was sensational and the colored lights lent an aura of charm and warmth. It was all for the GUARDIAN, and it resulted in another boost out of the summer crisis.

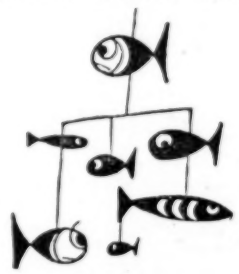
RIGHT TO TRAVEL

## Robeson takes case to Supreme Court

ACTOR-SINGER Paul Robeson through his attorney Leonard B. Boudin on Sept. 4 petitioned the Supreme Court to review the State Dept.'s refusal to grant him a passport. Boudin himself, who received his own passport on Aug. 30 after a year-long legal fight, left for London on Sept. 6 in connection with other passport cases.

Robeson is not only seeking a passport, which has been denied him for years, but is also asking that the State Dept. be enjoined from preventing his traveling in Mexico and other countries where passports are not required. It is the first law-suit of its kind in the nation's history.

Robeson took his case to court after he declined an "informal hearing" of-



fered him by the State Dept. A lower court dismissed the suit and the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld that ruling. His present action in the Supreme Court is an appeal from that decision.

The State Dept. has three times avoided a Supreme Court test of a lower court ruling that it must produce its witnesses and disclose its evidence in denying a passport on political grounds.

## *How China's women are faring*

*Below are excerpts from a dispatch datelined Canton, China, by Reg Leonard of the Melbourne, Australia,* Herald, *reprinted by the N. Y.* Times *Aug. 25.*

WOMEN ARE THE BACKBONE of Chinese communism. They are Mao Tse-tung's most fanatical supporters. . . Mr. Mao turned from the aftermath of war to make two decrees. One granted complete equality to all women. The other freed young people from the obligation to heed the "wisdom" of their elders. Immediately, scores of millions of emancipated women and teen-age girls were on his side. . .

Since then, women have gone ahead boldly in China. Today they are independent, hard-working, apparently quite capable when they have the opportunities.

They miss no chance to stress their equality with men . . . vast numbers of husbands, sweethearts and boy friends are tagging along with the women as crusaders for Mr. Mao. . . In every farming cooperative a woman is either director or deputy director. They have responsible positions in industry and commerce. They have equal voting rights with men and 148 of them are members of the Natl. People's Congress. . . In industry and commerce, in schools, offices, banks and ministries, women get equal pay for equal work. In all the new factories this correspondent saw, there were clinics and rest rooms for pregnant women. Management said mothers had 56 days off with pay after the birth of a child. . . China's new marriage law has helped women by providing freedom of choice and abolishing "arranged" unions. . .

Despite their emancipation Chinese women now are among the world's drabbest. Few of them bother about make-up, although the "better classes" use a little lipstick on important social occasions. Hair is outrageously neglected and nearly all women wear untidy cotton jackets and creased "Sloppy Joes.". . . All this makes the Chinese woman one of the most inelegant in the world. Publicists are trying to organize a reform movement but it is heavy going. Strangely enough, the men do not seem to mind the depressing shabbiness of the women. . . Still, China's women are generally happy in their new life of equality. In fact, they seem to prefer today's status to the restraints and inferiority that might come with restoration of the old order.

EVIDENCE OF MATERIAL GAIN IS ABUNDANT, BUT . . .

# How much democracy is there in the U.S.S.R.?

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

IS THE U.S.S.R. with its new-found sense of security going ahead to become "a world model of living democracy"? Two young Latvian journalists, who learned their trade on underground papers in the bourgeois and Nazi occupation days and seemed to know both it and the general score very well, expressed deep conviction that this is what it will be by 1960—with "completely open doors and the freest kind of elections." Both are working now with "rehabilitated" Stalin-Beria victims and are certain "it can't happen again." One offered as a symbol of the new, tamed status of the political police that he is writing a whodunit about their activity and is getting their full co-operation—"unthinkable in the past"—on color and background for his novel.

I had got into frank and friendly conversation with them after remarking, during a long-winded speech at a reception, that we could all do with less words and more steak. The point that they, like so many others, stressed was that "until quite recently material conditions and international tensions made our country unripe for a process of real democratization." They wish that progressive intellectuals abroad, like Howard Fast whose problems Soviet writers think they understand better than he understands theirs, would try harder to appreciate this. The U.S.S.R. today is to be understood, they say, in terms of its continually improving foreign relations on the one hand and, on the other, the recent big increase in old-age pensions, the soaring of consumer-goods production and the decision to introduce a national 40-hour week.

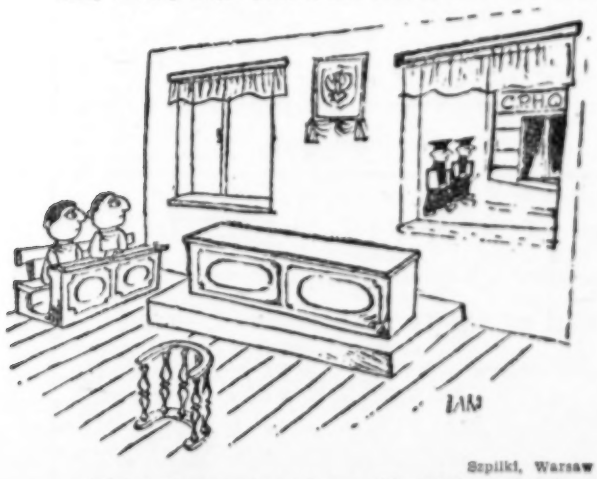
**THE MATERIAL GAINS:** Certainly I have seen evidence enough of the period of material abundance into which the U.S.S.R. is moving. On the top level, you find a science professor and his surgeon wife living in great comfort (if by U.S. standards of wealth, quite modest) in a country house outside Moscow, with a car and a river to fish for pike and a yard big enough for chickens and bees and for raising a prodigious quantity and quality of fruit and vegetables.

On the level of workers of lesser skill you meet a white-mustachioed baker named Lapshin who recalls Tsarist days when he had to live like a coolie at the plant, hardly ever saw his family and "rested only when they stoked the fires." Now at 65 he has a two-room flat for a family of five, and gets a 550-ruble monthly pension on top of the 850 rubles he still chooses to earn in the automated bakery. Or a chauffeur who graduated from Murmansk-delivered British tanks to a government Zim limousine. Out of a 1,500-ruble income (with his shop-assistant wife's 600) he pays but 30 rubles rent and so can "eat three good meals a day, buy fairly good clothes and go regularly to the movies and theater." Or a Latvian peasant whose family, after six years in a collective, lives in a new seven-room house and earns more in cash and kind than the biggest local farmer did before collectivization.

**REFORM IS IN ORDER:** The fine sanatoriums available free or at 30% of cost through a worker's union, the fabulous new universities and sports stadiums, the mushrooming apartment houses, the homes for the aged, the theaters and libraries—all these swell the chorus of material testimony. But how about democracy? To what extent can the average citizen feel he has a voice in the running of things?

As far as the election of representatives on higher levels—national or local—is concerned, the people have, it seems to me, grounds for demanding reforms in the set-up; and fulfillment of the Latvian journalists' prophesy depends on how soon and how loudly they will express them.

All that can be said now is that complaints and cynicism about the electoral system are heard especially from younger people, and that Moscow has made




Szpilki, Warsaw

**"The judges went out to consider their verdict."**

**BAKER LAPSHIN POSES FOR A PICTURE**
*With a member of the delegation from Britain*

a start toward greater democracy by moves to decentralize the justice and planning administrations. Justice has now reverted wholly to the republics although it is the Communist parties, as I understood it, that really give local "clearance" to Moscow in the case of political arrests. Planning is done locally—with more and more industries coming under control of the republics—and submitted to Moscow only for final correlation with the over-all U.S.S.R. plan.

**SINGLE CANDIDATES:** Talks with heads of local soviets in Leningrad and Riga, however, elicited nothing but old stock answers in defense of the system under which citizens vote for a single candidate. The constitution doesn't say there must be only one candidate per office but "in practice" the people's organizations, after making their nominations in a democratic way, always withdraw all except one name.

The constitution also provides for recall of officials showing themselves unfit. Is the right to recall ever used? Nobody can think of an occasion when it was. (The Mayor of Leningrad was politely intrigued by my account of how Los Angeles citizens, in the '30's, recalled the mayor and put him in the jug.) Who actually decides on the name which appears on the ballot, eliminating all other nominees? The replies are vague, but the only possible conclusion is that it is done by the local Communist party.

If this is suggested, the reply is that many non-Communists appear on the single lists, in some cases nearly half or more of the names. (And it must be admitted that most of the officials I met, elected in this way, didn't seem like inefficient piecards.) As proof of the people's enthusiasm for the system, the Mayor of Leningrad said that 99.96% of the electorate voted in the 1955 elections. (At first he said 99.76% and, corrected by an aide, gave the figure as if expecting it to produce a deep impression).

**WHAT ABOUT THE CP?** In that connection a story was going the rounds in Warsaw about a man who didn't go to vote and explained to his friends: "I was told to be the .1%." What is clearly at issue is the extent to which, in today's conditions, it is necessary for the Communist party to dominate the scene. This question is being much discussed now in Poland, and discussion about liberalizing the electoral system is also under way in Hungary and Yugoslavia. The Latvian journalists pointed out that some of these discussions have been reported in the Soviet press, a clear sign to them that reforms are also on the agenda in Moscow.

From what I saw in Russia and Latvia, the administration of regular justice and police—of "political" cases I saw nothing—is very fair and humane.

(In Riga I sat in on a fascinating "modern **Dead Souls**" case of a factory payroll padded with names of non-existent workers—for the purpose not of personal embezzlement, but of equipping the factory club with radio and TV. The judge, a slim, dignified blonde in a blue tailored suit, reprimanded the government procurator for laying charges against the cashier—whom she released on bail—and told him to bring in the real criminals who were clearly higher-ups.)

I was also impressed by the greater democracy in such important elections as those for union and collective-farm leadership. Such elections with more candidates than offices on the ballot were described to me in detail, and they appeared to have been models of democratic procedure.

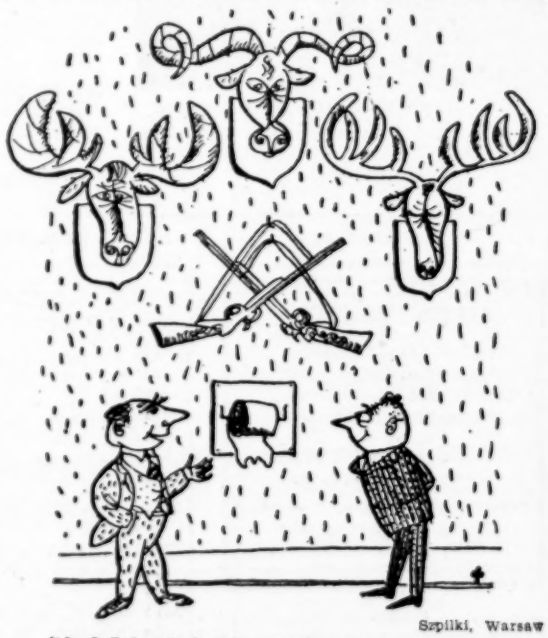
**THE SOVIET PRESS:** As a journalist I raised with my Latvian friends, and others with whom I had similar talks, the question of the role of the press in making democracy live. The Soviet press seems to me to be deeply in need of overhaul and invigoration, and if and when this happens other changes will be speeded up. In general—but to a lesser extent outside Moscow—the papers are too parochial, too much of a staid pattern and too long-winded. They give too much space for massive speech texts and resolutions and the protocol of official titles to leave enough for world news or for independent criticism and crusading. The repetition of exactly the same formulations in paper after paper is distressing.

Top newspapermen are overpaid, considering how little editing and original reporting and "creative" journalism are done. As for whether the press is cautious in its crusading and reporting because "somebody" tells it to be, or because the editors are just "doing what comes naturally" in avoiding dangerous ground, this is a $64 question in other countries than the U.S.S.R.

**THE PAPERS DO SELL:** In Poland there has been a violent and—some think—dangerous reaction following the 20th Congress, with newspapermen (often in fact the most slavish Stalinolaters of yesterday) now feeling so "free" that their theme-song has become: "What can I criticize today?" A Warsaw editor who collects old newspapers as a hobby told me he had found that the dull, heavy pattern of Soviet papers is nothing new—"Russian papers always were like that before the revolution."

Certainly no one circulating in any U.S.S.R. city can deny that the newspapers sell out as soon as they hit the streets and are thoroughly read. No Western—not even CP—papers are for sale in the U.S.S.R. to provide a basis of comparison. (In Warsaw the London **Times** and **Manchester Guardian**, Paris' **Le Monde**—and the **NATIONAL GUARDIAN**—are for sale and available on racks for frequenters of coffee-houses.)

It is only fair to say that recent developments in **Pravda** indicate an improvement toward critical, let-chips-fall-where-they-may journalism. They have included a strong criticism of leaders who fuss with reports and directives instead of creative work; more space given to critical readers' letters on many subjects; a denunciation by Shostakovich of attempts at dogmatic suppression of creative work in music; and a remarkable poem, "The Abstainer", about a man who,



Szpilki, Warsaw

**"And I hunted this one for three months."**

knowing a political candidate was rotten but keeping silent about it out of fear, ended up "fighting only against leaders who had already fallen."

Several young journalists spoke to me of their frustration by highly-paid editorial bureaucrats, who make a big show of being VIP's but actually have little to do except for expense-account lunches and passing enormous unedited handouts to the printers.

**THE YOUNG PEOPLE:** In the younger Soviet generation there is indeed a great stirring—the first generation, incidentally, to grow up with dimming recollections of their country's terrible sufferings between 1918 and 1945. This is a generation which expects to reap the full benefits of socialism and won't quietly accept official soft-soap excuses for failure, inefficiency and injustice. They are willing to volunteer under Komsomol pressure for hard but necessary tasks for the state—as hundreds of thousands have done in the current crop-gathering exodus to Siberia—but they don't pretend to like the interruption of their own lives.

The decisive factor in Soviet democratization may be that this new generation is conscious of a rich and fruitful life just ahead, not for their children but for themselves. A picture stays with me of a group of Soviet students reading with total puzzlement, in an English magazine which I gave them, about the new London play **Look Back in Anger.** A play, said the magazine, about young Britons who "love and torture each other and feel sorry for themselves"; about a hero who says: "I give up. I'm sick of doing things for people. And all for what? Nobody thinks, nobody cares. No belief, no convictions, and no enthusiasm."

**LOVE THY NEIGHBOR**

*At Mansfield, Tex, two youths try to remove the effigy of a Negro from atop a school flagpole.*

# Southern schools

*(Continued from Page 1)*

of massing at school entrances to keep Negro students out, decided on the tactic of staying away. Let any Negro boy or girl enter, they said, and ask to be enrolled. Registration would be denied and the student then transferred to the jimcrow high school at Fort Worth, 20 miles northwest of Mansfield.

Proponents of this move were said to expect the NAACP to challenge the move; but they would welcome the delay which preparations for a court battle would bring. Gov. Shivers meanwhile withdrew the six Texas Rangers he had reluctantly sent to Mansfield. He made it clear that his sympathy lay with the demonstrators. Similar conditions prevailed at Alvarado, 25 miles from Mansfield.

A Texarkana, Ark., picket line of grown ups and students turned back three Negro youths who tried to enroll in the Junior College there.

**VIRGINIA:** Gov. Stanley was backing a bill that would give him power formerly held by local school boards. It would make him responsible and answerable to the courts for jimcrow in Virginia schools in defiance of the Supreme Court rulings. A joint committee of the Senate and the House of Delegates was continuing hearings on the governor's plan to withhold state funds from localities that obeyed the high court decrees.

Virginia AFL-CIO president Harold Boyd told the committee the governor's plan would "result in the destruction of our free school system."

The Richmond Diocese Council of Catholic Women and the Virginia Teachers Assn.'s 7,000 Negro and white members opposed the plan, as did former Gov. Battle.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Most of the white students at Matoaka cut classes as 27 Negro youngsters enrolled at the high school. The action was voted by 350 persons who agreed also not to demonstrate publicly against integration. Even so, 120 white students out of a 570-enrollment were present at opening day. At nearby Springton and Wade many white students attended classes with Negroes for the first time despite pressure.

**GOVERNORS CONFER:** At White Sulphur Springs state executives were arriving for the 22nd annual Governors' conference. Main theme was said to be opposition to Federal "interference" in states' discrimination and segregation practices. Integration was not officially on the agenda but no governor hesitated to talk about it with reporters. One described their "temper" as seeming to be that Eisenhower "should take no action of a so-called positive nature—whatever it may be—that would tend to force integration." Some made veiled hints of scuttling the Democratic ticket if Stevenson and Kefauver said anything to inflame the highly combustible Dixiecrat feeling.

NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins told the Natl. (Negro) Baptist Convention in Denver last week:

"It is incredible, but true, that the President of the United States is assuming a neutral position in a contest in which his own Supreme Court is under attack and in which lawlessness is running riot. Here is the one man who, without favoring your child or mine, or trespassing upon any right of a state, could set a moral tone for the nation in this sorry mess, but he chooses to stand mute."

Natl. Urban League exec. director Lester Granger said at an annual dinner conference in Cincinnati last week:

"The end of such incidents [as anti-integration riots] will not be seen in 1956, for it has become clear within recent months that American leadership which could have and should be expected to meet destructive leadership with constructive attitudes and programs, has failed to assume its responsibility and, in some instances, has abdicated entirely."

## Socialist Workers' Dobbs calls for a new party

FARRELL DOBBS, running his third campaign as Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, last week urged labor and the Negro people to found a new party to "enforce full civil rights." At its nominating convention in New York the SWP also called for a union organizing drive in the south.

The party describes itself as the "Trotskyist wing of the radical movement" and regards "Stalinists" as "betrayers of socialism." Its candidate for vice president is Myra Tanner Weiss.

**DECISIVE FACTORS:** Three characteristics of the diehard fight against integration stand out. A. T. Walden, the Baptist Convention's general counsel, named the first when he said that if it were left to Southern youth, integration "would now be complete and the rioting would never have happened." He added that Southern white youth "is far ahead of its elders regarding integration, for they realize it is inevitable and most of them are reconciled to it."

But the elders are not all bad, either, and that is the second characteristic. A 26-year-old white teacher of Atlanta refused to retreat from her position of supporting integration, though she knew it would mean her job. And Mt. St. Mary's Catholic School of Oklahoma City has hired Lance Cudjoe, former Harlem Globetrotter basketball star, as head football and basketball coach.

Finally, the Negro children who continued daily peaceably to challenge the mob at Clinton, most reporters on the scene agreed, displayed the kind of heroism their enemies claim for themselves as one mark of their superiority to all Negroes.

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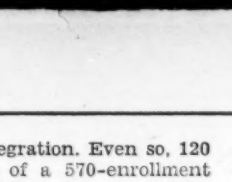

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# The Suez story

(Continued from Page 1)

The Beirut English-language daily **Star** said: "It is not a question of nationalization, free navigation or safety of nationals. It is [to bolster] the prestige of Britain and France, [for which] President Nasser's prestige must be crushed."

**ARABS UNITED:** Syrian President Shukri al-Kuwatly said on Sept. 3 that the Western powers were "attempting to dominate and possess our wealth, natural resources and coastlines." He said any aggression against Egypt would be also against Syria which was prepared to share "in the defense of Arab rights and pride." The Arab press warned that, if Egypt were attacked, a supposed underground movement called "Oruba" would immediately set about destroying Western oil installations and military bases.

In its last-ditch fight against nationalization the Suez Canal Co. started handing out checks to the French press, was reported attempting to prevent the return of pilots to Suez from vacation abroad.

**THE PAPER PAY-OFF:** Paris **Liberation** Aug. 30 published on its front page facsimiles of a check and a letter it had received, signed by the Suez Canal Co.'s secy.-gen. Michel Caplan. Caplan wrote: "I am not unaware that the publication of this information may sometimes be a source of expense a part of which I think it right for us to bear. Consequently you will find enclosed a check for 1,000 francs ($280) for the month of August, it being understood that our participation might be renewed thereafter if occasion warrants."

After publication in **Liberation,** three other newspapers— **Le Figaro, Paris-Presse** and **France-Soir** admitted receiving checks and returning them to the company. **Franc-Tireur** decided to retain the check as a possible exhibit in a free press museum. Company officials reportedly explained that sending the checks was an error due to their failure to make a distinction between advertising and news. Egypt promptly declared it would sue the company for misusing funds no longer its own.

**STAY-HOME PAY:** The Suez Canal Co. officially notified the Western powers Aug. 26 that it will no longer be responsible for employees refusing to serve at Suez. According to William Richardson, (N. Y. **Post,** 9/4), the company "was reported to have offered [Western pilots] up to three years salary not to return to work." (Pilots earn up to $35,000 and $40,000 a year, tax free, most of which goes abroad. Egyptian Suez administrators have complained that "they contribute little to our economy.")

The 200-odd highly-skilled pilots are essential for the navigation of nearly 50 ships a day, sometimes carrying a total of 3,000,000 tons of oil for Europe, through a canal in which clearance in some places is judged in inches and excessive propeller revolutions might send the canal banks into a disastrous slide.

**DANGER RECEDING?** A pilot shortage might mean more than a financial loss to Egypt. "A traffic snarl," as Marguerite Higgins wrote (N. Y. **Herald Tribune** 9/3), "would provide an excuse for British and French intervention in the Suez if they want to invoke one." To avoid a pilot shortage, Egypt has been scouring Europe for replacements and set up a training program six months ago, long before the Suez nationalization.

But war over the Suez Canal, with or without traffic snarl or any other incident, seemed to be receding as Britain and France had second thoughts and the U. S. insisted upon a negotiated solution. The 88th annual Trade Union Congress in Britain Sept. 6 unanimously passed a resolution opposing war against Egypt without UN approval. Paris began an "agonizing reappraisal" of its "get rid of Nasser at all costs" policy as it observed the mounting opposition to British Prime Minister Eden's tactics and heard both President Eisenhower and U. S. Secy. of State Dulles declare themselves determined "to exhaust every possible, every feasible method of peaceful settlement."

**CAREFUL PLANNING:** Besides the pilot training program, other evidence indicates that Nasser had long ago decided to nationalize the Suez Canal Co. In **The Reporter** (9/6) Simon Malley, UN correspondent for Egyptian newspapers, says that Nasser planned in October, 1954 to nationalize the company and set up a commission under Commerce Minister Badawi—now head of the newly created Suez Canal authority—to study the problems anticipated when the company's lease expired in 1968. A year later, instructed by Cairo, the Egyptian Embassy in Washington sounded out the U. S. government about the possibility of hiring American pilots.

**DULLES' SPARK:** Nasser's political adviser Aly Sabri told Malley that the Egyptian government held many cards; how they were played would depend "on the attitude of the Western powers." "When Dulles withdrew his offer [to help finance the Aswan dam] in such a way as to question the soundness of Egypt's economy," Sabri said, "we announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal Co. We have not finished and will not stop until the Western powers recognize that what belongs to the Arabs must return to the Arabs."

"In short," Malley wrote, "the determination to nationalize the canal was supplied by President Nasser; the occasion was provided by Mr. Dulles."

Malley also revealed that Nasser in an interview told him of two rival groups in the Egyptian army: one favoring war with Israel and the other opposing it—very much, Nasser said, as in the U. S., with the "Radford-Nixon group which favored military intervention in Indo-China and even in China" and the "Ridgways, who opposed it."

**RUSSIA AND ISRAEL:** The balance between these two groups, Malley wrote, underwent a change when Soviet foreign Minister Shepilov, during his June visit to Cairo, told Nasser that Moscow did not favor an Arab-Israeli war and "never envisaged the destruction of Israel." Shepilov said that Soviet arms aid to Egypt was extended only for the purpose of strengthening Arab bargaining power vis-a-vis the Israelis and the West at a conference table. That is why, Malley wrote, Nasser follows a "no war, no peace" formula toward Israel.

Tel Aviv announced that Moscow, as well as Washington, London and Paris, "had pledged support for Israel's right to use the Suez Canal" (N. Y. **Post,** 9/9).

Israel, however, remained worried and vigilant. Knowing from past experience that the Western powers were quite capable of sacrificing its interests to protect their own, Israel demanded that any compromise solution negotiated with Nasser should guarantee free passage of ships to Israel.

## CALENDAR

### Altadena, Calif.

**SWIM PARTY for the GUARDIAN** Sat., Sept. 22 noon-6 p.m. 2189 N. Altadena Dr. (formerly Foothill Blvd.) Suggested donation: adults, 75 cents; children, 40 cents. All welcome.

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# the SPECTATOR

## *Shipping out?*

NOTING THAT JOE PAZITKA had been a crew member on the S. S. **Dorchester** when the former passenger ship, transporting troops and civilians, had been torpedoed off the coast of Greenland in 1943, the Coast Guard hearing officer remarked: "You're lucky to have survived". (In the final count, over 800 out of 1,000 went down with the ship.) Joe recalled for a moment his seven hours in the water, one arm clinging to a piece of cork life preserver, the other holding a soldier's head above water. "Yes," he agreed, "and you guys, in a Coast Guard cutter, rescued yours truly. Now, you're giving me the business, torpedoing me right out of the merchant marine."

The Coast Guard hearing on Joe's status as a "screened" seaman took place the day after Labor Day, 1950. Joe had already been beached in July when the Coast Guard refused to let him "sign on" the ship's articles of the S. S. **Argentina**, a passenger-freight ship on which Joe had been an active union delegate since 1947. At the hearing, Joe was "given the opportunity" to disprove the "security risk" designation—an impossible task in the witch hunt atmosphere of the day

**SUGAR AND SCAFFOLDS:** Over 1,800 men and women in the American Merchant Marine, many of them union militants of long standing, have been deprived of the right to follow their established occupation since Harry Truman, in a Presidential order based on the 1950 Magnuson Act, gave the Coast Guard the power to screen "subversives." The entire class of seamen, from captain to messman, were put under scrutiny and the blacklisted men were barred from every ship in the merchant marine. Although a captain could get a job refining sugar in the Domino plant in Greenpoint, Brooklyn, he could not be master or even messman of a vessel taking on the unrefined sugar from barges in the Caribbean.

What did screened seamen turn to ashore? Unlike some other screened citizens of the witch-hunt era, seamen didn't seem to make the best shoe salesmen.

Donald, for example, climbed out of the window of an eight-story office building on to a scaffold that had been left hanging overnight. He took off the hitch, dropped the scaffold down a floor and looked over his shoulder to see how the experienced man on the other end secured the hitch.

A friend of Donald's, a screened engine man, got a job as a scaffold painter. He telephoned to ask: "What's a scaffold?" That night, in his living room, with a clothes line and some coat hangers, Donald demonstrated what a scaffold was, and the next day the former "black gang" man went over a 14-story coping on to a scaffold to work.

**THE COURT DECIDES:** Then, in October 1955, after five years of getting his "shore side bearings," the screened seaman could dream of shipping out again. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals announced that the screened seaman had been a victim of "faceless informers, talebearers and whispers."

The suing seamen of the West Coast pressed for immediate enforcement of the Court's opinion (the government did not appeal). Backed by a newly-formed Committee Against Waterfront Screening, consisting wholly of screened men, they obtained a Circuit Court ruling Aug. 21 ordering the Coast Guard immediately to issue shipping papers stamped "validated" to men illegally screened. Only after a breather at sea could these men be re-screened; and the next time, the court said, give them a fair trial.

**DEFENSE IN NEW YORK:** In New York screened seamen formed a Seamen's Defense Committee Against Coast Guard Screening. As their chairman they elected Captain Hugh Mu zac, a seaman for 45 years, screened by an ungrateful government after completing 22 wartime trans-Atlantic crossings as master of the model inter-racial ship, the S. S. **Booker T. Washington.** Already baptized as a "commy front" seeking to mishandle a "legitimate beef" (Aug. 3 issue of the **Seafarer's Log,** organ of the Seafarer's International Union, AFL), the SDC is preparing to picket Coast Guard offices here if any attempt is made to pursue a "two port" policy—obeying the court order in San Francisco while refusing to validate shipping papers for men screened in New York.

A grand reunion of screened seamen—and all former mariners—is planned at the First Dance and Entertainment sponsored by the SDC and featuring Eric Lowe and his Orchestra at Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41 St., Manhattan, Sat. evening, Sept. 22. Drop by if you're in town and see some long-absent sea-going smiles again.

— **Lou Becker**

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